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ABSTRACT

Disparities in rates of mobility among groups in the population have long been of interest as indicators of potential differences in access to economic and social opportunities. Racial differentials in mobility within the United States are seen as evidence of the lack of assimilation of blacks into the American mainstream. This paper tests for a convergence over time in racial differentials in local residential mobility and migration. Tabulations of the 1940-80 Public Use Microdata Files of the U.S. Census and corresponding loglinear models are used to examine changes over time in the interaction of race and mobility, while controlling for the influence of age, education, and southern origin. Results reveal that effects of age, education, and time period on the distribution of persons among mobility types are substantial. With the exception of those who have attended or completed college, blacks tend to remain less migratory than whites at all times, even after controlling for age and education. However, evidence does exist for the reduction of these differentials over time. A list of 25 references is included. An outline discussion of the Systematic Alien Verification For Entitlements (SAVE) program is also included. (FMW)

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RACE AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1980

by

Michael J. White*
Peter R. Mueser**

THE URBAN INSTITUTE

Project Report

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Abstract

Disparities in rates of mobility among groups in the population have long been of interest as indicators of potential differences in access to economic and social opportunities across space. Racial differentials in mobility within the United States are seen as evidence of the lack of assimilation of blacks into the American mainstream. This paper tests for a convergence over time in racial differentials in local residential mobility and migration. Tabulations of the 1940-80 Public Use Microdata Files of the U.S. Census and corresponding loglinear models are used to examine changes over time in the interaction of race and mobility, while also controlling for the influence of age, education, and southern origin. Our results reveal that effects of age, education, and time period on the distribution of persons among mobility types are substantial. With the exception of those who have attended or completed college, blacks tend to remain less migratory than whites at all times, even after controlling for age and education. We do find evidence for the reduction of these differentials over time.

1. INTRODUCTION

One sign of social integration in a population is a similarity in the patterns of population distribution and redistribution among its subgroups. Just as residential segregation can point to lack of social integration among groups, disparities in rates of mobility among groups in the population have long been of concern because they serve as indicators of potential differences in access to economic and social opportunities across territory. Racial differentials in mobility within the United States can be viewed as evidence of the absence of the assimilation of blacks into the American mainstream. A number of competing explanations have been offered for the existence and persistence of local and interregional mobility differentials, among them, discrimination in housing markets, lack of information about job opportunities, levels of skill, family characteristics, motivation, and other unmeasured traits. A convergence in racial mobility patterns would be consistent with increasing similarity in many of the effects of characteristics related to movement, and to a decline in barriers to movement faced by the minority. Several writers have prophesied such a convergence, predicated on the socioeconomic gains of the black population and its redistribution out of the rural South to the urban North (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Himes, 1971; Wilson, 1981).

In this paper we take up the issue of racial differentials in mobility explicitly. Using loglinear models, we test directly for a convergence in racial differentials in local residential mobility and migration during the period 1940-80. The loglinear approach allows us

to examine detailed changes over time in the interaction of race, mobility, location in the South at the start of the migration interval, and the demographic characteristics of age and education. Thus we imbed the question of racial differentials in mobility within a larger analysis of the association between personal characteristics and mobility. Since an individual can undertake several types of mobility, trading between long and short distance movement, our approach is to look at several kinds of moves in an integrated framework.

In that blacks and whites have participated in intraregional and interregional population distribution flows for some time since the economic and social adjustments of the Post World War II period, we ask whether those patterns have begun to converge. We look directly at how individual characteristics influence the probability of moving within county, between county (within state), and between states, and then how differentially race affects that probability over time. We also carry out further analyses we attempt to address noncomparability in the data, particularly the one year migration interval in 1950 and the lack of place of origin information in 1960.

This section of the paper continues with a general discussion of the issue. Section 2 portrays basic data on racial differentials. Section 3 describes our data and methods in detail. Section 4 presents the results we obtain, and Section 5 elaborates on our conclusion that racial differentials are found to persist over time, even after controlling for other basic determinants of geographic mobility.

Our observation period brackets a time of great economic and social change. Our first observation period, 1935-40, picks up many of the economic disruptions of the Great Depression. The 1950 census reflects

the continued movement out of the South to the North and West (by both whites and blacks), and the metropolitanization of the nation. Such flows continue to be represented in the 1960 and 1970 censuses. In the 1965-70 period the movement toward the Sunbelt occurs, along with sustained suburbanization. In the final decade, the net migration turnaround occurs, with migration favoring nonmetropolitan areas in combination with increased gains in the Sunbelt states.

Throughout this period, we observe that most local residential mobility and migration is attributable to the search for jobs and housing, although its geographic manifestation may differ from period to period. Scholarly work on the socioeconomic integration of blacks has produced a "mixed report card" (Farley, 1984). The educational attainment, earnings and occupational status of employed blacks has risen relative to whites. Levels of residential segregation remain high, although they have come down in the 1970s (White, 1988, Farley and Wilger, 1987). But measures of labor force participation and unemployment show no signs of progress (Farley, 1984). During the period we examine, the earnings of black males rose from 43% of whites in 1940 to 73% of whites in 1980 (Smith and Welch, 1986). Smith and Welch, in an analysis of this development, have found that this improvement was spread widely, although not universally, through income groups and cohorts. They attribute much of the gain to improvements in the schooling of black men. Migration itself is implicated in economic progress. Studies based on both 1970 and 1980 data show that among both blacks and whites long term migrants to a region earn more than lifetime residents of that region (Long and Heltman, 1975; Farley and Allen, 1987). Despite these gains for blacks, it still remains the case that

white earnings exceed those for blacks after controlling for age, education, and hours worked.

Many writers have contributed to an understanding of the demographic composition, the determinants, and the consequences of the major features of the redistribution of the black population in the United States. While there were episodic outmigration flows from the South in the 19th and early 20th century (Johnson and Campbell, 1981), much of the massive movement northward occurred after 1920 (Long, forthcoming), with a wide range of southern states contributing migrants (Eldridge, et. al. 1960). The mechanization of agriculture in the South has frequently been cited as an underlying cause of South-North migration. Fligstein (1981, p. 186) disputes that notion, and argues that the relative class positions of blacks and whites, in combination with the social relations of production, determined the opportunity structure in the South, and in turn, the incentives for outmigration. Black migration out of the South was minimal before 1920, as jobs in the industrializing North went to immigrants (Long, forthcoming).

Farley and Allen (1987) identify a "lag" in black interregional migration patterns when compared to whites. In the recent era, net movement back toward the South appeared first in the white population in the 1960s, then among blacks in the 1970s. This recovery of the net migration of blacks to the South took place fairly evenly across most age groups. In a logit model of interregional migration (vs. any other move or stay) from 1980 census data Farley and Allen find that the effect of education in promoting migration out of the South is stronger for blacks than whites. One cannot eliminate unmeasured selectivity in such analyses, but the consequences of interregional migration appear to

be substantial for all men in this period and manifest additional racial differentials. Although the returns to education are the same for both black and white men who reside continuously (birth, 1975, 1980) in the South or Nonsouth, blacks who move out of the South experience smaller returns to their education than whites who make such moves, while blacks departing from the North and West experience greater returns to education than similar whites who depart.[1] Within metropolitan areas, after years of white suburbanization, we have now begun to observe substantial black movement to the suburbs, although a wide racial disparity in rates of suburban destination selection persists (Frey, 1984). These lags in redistribution raise concern that a disparity in the flows themselves can serve to undermine economic and social advancement, as the black population finds itself lagging not only white migration trends, but the economic opportunities that come with regional restructuring and the suburbanization of employment.[2]

Differentials in mobility can arise for several reasons. Of course some group differences can be attributed to demographic composition. But in addition, the uneven geographic distribution of the population initially can give rise to differentials, even in circumstances where groups respond equally to opportunities or exercise similar residential preferences. Therefore even after controlling for composition, differential rates (or probabilities) are a combination of differential

1This information is taken from appendix tables 5.1 and 5.2 in Farley and Allen (1987). We assume that in the former table signs of coefficients have been reversed. Black men who are long term migrants have levels of income which exceed other blacks and more closely approach white men in their regions of 1980 residence (Farley and Allen, 1987, Figure 5.4).

2 Lieberson (1980, pp. 176-83) puts much emphasis on the relative lateness of black migration to the North as an explanation of the failure of blacks to exhibit patterns of progress like those of white immigrants.

underlying origin-destination specific rates and unevenness in the initial population distribution across space. Differential rates indicate lack of equality both in population distribution and redistribution of the groups.[3] So then a test for convergence is really a generalized test for similarity in the dual regard. The increasing similarity of blacks and whites with regard to their distribution across broader geography (Lichter et. al., 1986) would be expected to facilitate the convergence of mobility rates themselves.

2. RACIAL DIFFERENTIALS IN GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

Table 1 presents levels of mobility by race tabulated from the standard previous residence questions in the censuses of 1940 to 1980. The questions ask respondents to give residence five years earlier, except that in the 1950 census, a one year interval was used. The table illustrates the general rule-of-thumb for population mobility that in most periods, about one-half the population has relocated within a five year interval. In the 1935-40 period blacks were considerably more mobile than whites, but most of this was limited to movement within counties. In the three subsequent decades, blacks and whites exhibit very similar levels of overall mobility, but blacks differ in their distribution across mobility categories. Within the white population, the conditional probability of making an interstate migration, given that an individual has moved, has risen steadily from .103 (1940) to .256 (1980). While this conditional probability has nearly trebled for

3Long (1973) argues that just as a society can be characterized by its demographic behavior with regard to fertility, nuptiality, etc, so to it can be characterized by its patterns of mobility. Moreover, changes in social structure should be manifest in patterns of movement as well. See Goldscheider (1971) for more on this point.

the black population, at each decade the probability of migration, given move, lags appreciably behind the white population. While there is little overall difference in mobility by race group, blacks are much more likely to make a local move than undertake interstate migration. Is then, the differential mobility of blacks attributable to demographic composition, and if not, has there been a growing similarity to whites over time?

Taeuber and Taeuber (1965), in an analysis of the selectivity and compositional effects of migration, verified that black migrants had higher levels of educational attainment, and that this varied appreciably by the regional and metropolitan character of the origin. they did not however, directly investigate differences between blacks and whites in mobility. Wilson (1981) did focus on racial differentials in interregional migration for 1965-70 and 1970-76. He found age and education to be important predictors of migration in both his white and black subsamples. He also found that the effect of educational attainment was stronger among whites than blacks. The lower migration rates of blacks are partly attributable to lower levels of educational attainment and socioeconomic status. Differential family size and the extent of kinship networks, region of origin, social and psychological factors have also been suggested (Ritchey, 1976; Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Marsh, 1967).

Using net migration data for the South in 1950s, Bowles strongly rejects the hypothesis of no racial difference in migration patterns, claiming that "blacks are considerably less responsive than whites to the income gain from moving" (Bowles, 1970, p. 361). Kaluzny, using individual level prospective data, found that blacks were significantly

less migratory than whites, even after controlling for age, education, poverty status, and several other personal characteristics (Kaluzny, 1975).

Lichter, et al. (1986) have examined regional population distribution patterns in the U.S. from 1950-80. They conclude that there has been partial convergence in black-white growth rates across regions, and in metropolitan residence, but little convergence within detailed metropolitan and nonmetropolitan spatial categories. They conclude that the "prophesy of convergence in black-white patterns of redistribution has only been partly realized" (Lichter et. al., 1986, p. 35).

With respect to intraurban mobility, it is usually found that blacks exhibit higher rates of movement. But local mobility is itself linked to housing consumption preferences and passage through the life cycle. Results from multivariate analyses, which control for individual socioeconomic and housing tenure characteristics, are inconsistent (Quigley and Weinberg, 1977). Some of the observed difference in mobility is attributable to differences in home ownership. In census data where ownership is available only at the time of the enumeration, the effect of ownership is difficult to identify, because some mobility is expressly for the purpose of changing housing tenure. Racial discrimination may operate to reduce the range of choices open to minorities, thereby depressing mobility; yet difficulty in becoming a home owner raises the amount of measured local movement, since more persons remain in the more mobile renter category.[4]

4Our preliminary work with the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, where tenure can be measured prior to mobility, indicates that home ownership substantially decreases the probability of both local movement and migration. Rossi (1980, p. 120) reports from one survey that the ratio

3. DATA, METHODS, AND PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

We take our data from the Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) files from the censuses of 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980. These are records of individuals and their characteristics. Although residential mobility refers to a five-year (or for 1950 one-year) interval, we will, for the sake of convenience, make reference only to the census date itself. We make use of the standard county-state classification scheme represented in table 1. We employed loglinear methods for the analysis. After some exploratory work to decide the appropriate number of categories to maintain for each attribute, we settled on a specific hierarchical model. This model treats mobility status, M, as dependent in the standard fashion, and then builds effects on mobility for age, A, education, E, race, R, southern residence, S, and their interactions. The model is then augmented in parallel fashion with effects for decade, i.e. decennial census of observation.

The census measures few characteristics which are certain to precede the mobility event, but much of the variation in mobility is attributable to age and educational attainment (Rogers and Castro, 1984; Schwartz, 1976). We measure mobility in four categories (stay, intracounty, intercounty, interstate) as in Table 1. Age is measured in four categories (18-24, 25-34, 35-54, 55+) reflecting major life cycle periods. Education is measured with 3 categories, 0-8 years, 9-12 years, and 13+ years, with the final category designed to capture the effect of college exposure (as well as completion) on the the probability of migrating. The South variable is a dichotomy which indicates whether the person was resident in the South (vs. Nonsouth) at

between owners and renters in reporting a desiring to remain in their present dwelling is about 1.7 to 1.

the start of the migration interval. We have limited our sample to black and white adults who were residents of the United States at the beginning of the migration interval.[5]

We conducted a preliminary analysis of the data in order to to check on the effects of a one-year mobility interval for 1950, and of the mobility classification generally. We pooled observations from each decennial census file to achieve a total sample of about 117,000. In our shorthand (where all lower level interactions preceding the slash are assumed) these models may be written:

RAED,M/MA,ME/MR/MAE/MER,MAR/MRAE/
MD/MAD,MED/MRD/MAED/MERD,MARD/MRAED

The final model, then, is the saturated model. Our choice of hierarchy is parallel to the primary model we fit below, and allows us to look directly at the effects of race, and separate them from the other covariates in the model.[6]

Table 2 presents goodness-of-fit tests for the hierarchical models. Since the effect of the one-year interval in 1950 is at issue, as well as the overall structure of the mobility classification, have repeated the model with and without the 1950 data, and with the full four-fold categorization of mobility as well as a stay-move dichotomy. These are presented successively in Panels A-D. Comparing panel B with A, and correspondingly D with C it is evident that the shift in the

5The use of educational categories reduces the frequency of some cells in the table, since there is a secular rise in the educational level of the black and white populations over the period. We made our estimates with the SPSSX package; a value of 0.5 was added to each cell.
6Due to computational constraints we excluded the South dichotomy here.

distribution of across categories introduced by the 1950 one-year interval causes the fit for the time aggregated model (model 6) to deteriorate appreciably. Model 6A only accounts for 51 percent of chi-square, while model 6B accounts for 80 percent. In contrast, when the additive impact of decade is taken into account (model 7), the proportion of variance explained is very similar for panels A and B. (Models 7A and 7B account for 96 and 95 percent of the chi-square, respectively.)

These results indicate, then, that the deviations introduced by the one-year mobility interval occur mostly in the marginal distribution — more people are stayers — and that otherwise the basic pattern across mobility categories for 1950 is much like other decades. As further evidence we may compare the raw chi-squares of models 7A and 7B. In reducing the sample size by 20 percent (omitting observations for 1950) we reduce the chi-square by 17%, almost equivalently. This is not to say that there are no differences over time, only that once marginals are taken into account, the 1949-50 pattern is as well explained as the pattern for other decades.

4. RESULTS FOR COVARIATES

We now describe the substantive results from the primary model we fit to the data, which includes southern origin and excludes 1960 data. We fit loglinear models to this 768 cell table, using a sample size of 305,643, drawn about equally from each decennial census. Our selective comparison of the results of these two data sets indicate that 1960 patterns do not differ from the overall in any substantial way. The model we fit is as follows:

RAEDS,M/MA,ME/MR/MS/MAE/MER,MAR/MRS/MRAES/

MD/MAD,MED/MRD/MSD/MAED/MERD,MARD/MRSD/MESD,MASD/MRAEDS

Table 3 presents the goodness-of-fit test for these hierarchical models. With such a large sample size, we can reject the hypothesis that the models fit for all but the saturated model. Hence, higher order effects clearly exist in these data. We will focus, however, on the size of the change in the likelihood ratio statistic, which provides an indication of the substantive contribution of various effects in the explanation of mobility. Complementing our work above, the first nine models include interactions of age, education, southern origin, and race with mobility. The next nine add an interaction with time (Decade, D) to each of the first nine models.

The influence of age and education can be clearly seen in the comparison of models 1 and 2. Simple age and education effects account for about 45% of the difference between the baseline chi-square and the saturated model, but if we took into account the fact that about 36% of the overall difference is accounted for by the 1950 one-year interval, the more genuine estimate of the their influence would be in the neighborhood of 70%. We observe a modest age-education interaction, but higher order interactions with age and education contribute only modestly to this model.

By comparison to age and education, knowledge of an individual's race helps very little in predicting mobility outcome (model 3), a net improvement of less than 1 percent. The change in the effect of race over time (model 12) improves chi-square by 0.2%, and other higher order effects which include race are also modest, suggesting that differences

among racial groups are strongly influenced by their age and education composition.

The effect of South (model 4) is about double that for race. Those who were living in the South census region at the start of the migration interval (1935, 1949, 1965, 1975) manifest different mobility patterns than those who originated in the North and West. This can be due not only to the propensity to migrate interregionally, but also to differences in patterns of movement within the region, but we will reserve further discussion of this until we examine the detailed table. The effect of southern origin differs little by race, age, or education.

The effect of the time dimension is very strong. The introduction of the decade effect (table 3, model 10) doubles the proportion of baseline chi-square explained. Of course this is partly due to the influence of the shorter interval for 1950 (results from table 2 suggest about 75%), but this parameter also picks up the shift in overall mobility and relative frequency of mobility types over the decades, with longer distance movement becoming more prevalent. Correspondingly, results from panel D of table 2 (a comparison of panels B and D) indicate that about 58% [(93.8-85.4)/(94.9-80.4)] of the differential in mobility propensity alone (move vs. stay) can be attributed to distinct effects of the decades 1940, 1960, 1970, and 1980.

Log odds patterns Goodness of fit tests inform us of whether there are statistically significance differences, but they give no clue as the nature of any pattern among effects. In order to uncover the pattern, table 3 presents the log-odds for various mobility categories by age, education, time period, and southern origin. Successive columns portray the log-odds for the white population, and the racial difference (black-

white) in the log-odds. Rather than examine the percentage distribution across all categories or the log-odds with respect to moving only, the structure of Table 4 is hierarchical: first we examine the log-odds of making any move (vs. stay); second, we present the log-odds of migration (intercounty or interstate move) vs. intracounty move, given some move; and third, we present the log-odds of interstate vs. intercounty migration, given migrate. Essentially we work with the same information as is contained in the original crosstabulation or estimated coefficients. While there is an active discussion ways in which the results of loglinear models might be presented (Clogg and Shockey, 1985; Kaufman and Schervish, 1986; Alba, 1987;), this particular form of presentation is particularly suited to our present concerns. We first turn our attention to general patterns among the covariates within the white population, and then focus racial differences.

Our basic results confirm previous research with respect to age and education differentials. Because our model is more detailed we do uncover some additional detail, and can point to some differences over time. Even within four broad age categories we can uncover some of the age profile of migration and local mobility. The odds of any move generally peaks among the 25-34 year old age group,declining to appreciably lower levels by ages 55+; however, for those with the lowest level of education, most age patterns trace a steady decline. The log-odds of migration vs. local move show, by contrast, a decline through the labor force age groups, with a flattening or even an increase by the 55+ category. Within the migrant category, no strong age pattern differentiates interstate from intercounty movers. Taken together these two patterns draw out the motives underlying the two types of mobility,

family formation and housing adjustment among the former and human capital factors on the latter, which tend to make migratory moves more likely given that some move is undertaken. In addition, our analysis demonstrates the value of separating geographical mobility by type in the analysis of the effects of age, as well as other variables.

The more highly educated are more likely to move (col. 1), but consistent with human capital theory and the empirical results of others the education differential is more pronounced for migratory outcomes, and especially in the 25-34 year old age group. The goodness of fit tests revealed that variations in the effects of mobility and education by time period (MAD,MED) contribute to overall explained chi-square. Tracing the differences in the log-odds of any move vs. stay between the youngest and oldest groups in table 3, we observe that over time, this differential has increased somewhat within each educational attainment category and in each region of origin. This trend is not apparent for the log-odds of migration vs. local mobility. Thus, the older aged population has become increasingly sedentary over time, when compared to the young. (The magnitude of the age differential is a little greater in the South).

We also observe a a notable change over time in the association of educational attainment with mobility. Within the ages 25-34, key years because human capital formation has been completed and returns are being collected, the difference between the extreme categories on education (13+ vs. 0-8) on the odds of (any) move vs. stay increases steadily between 1940 and 1980. This holds for both nonsouthern and southern origin movers, although the magnitude of the differential is greater in the Nonsouth. This increasing disparity seems to be attributable to the

decreased odds of making any move for those in the lowest educational attainment category, in the face of slightly increased odds of movement for those with some college exposure. While we do observe the declining probability of movement for the population age 35-54 with 0-8 years of education, an increased disparity is only in evidence between 1970 and 1980. In the case of the odds of migrating vs. making a local move, we observe differences in the effects of education by time period, but no trend.

Racial Differences and Their Changes Over Time

Comparison of successive models in table 3 indicates that racial differences are present in the distribution of mobility outcomes; however effects of age, education, region of origin are stronger. Our tests from table 3 point to a statistically significant effect of the change in the influence of race over time, although these too, are smaller (in terms of change in chi-square per degree of freedom sacrificed) that the temporal interactions for age, education, and southern origin. We now analyze the specific nature of black-white differences and their changes over time.

The differences in the log-odds between blacks and whites are presented in the second of each pair of columns in table 4. Racial differences are especially apparent with respect to the relative probability of migrating (vs. an intracounty move). Here blacks are less migratory across almost all age-education groupings. In fact, for this comparison, among those of 0-8 and 9-12 years of education, all but two (of 64) coefficients are negative. In these educational groups, the racial disparity in migration propensity appears to be greater outside

the South.[7] Among those in the highest educational attainment category, those with either some exposure to or completion of college, the generality of this pattern breaks down. In 1970 and 1980 black migration log-odds exceed those for whites in each of the age groups under age 55. An examination of the odds of interstate migration vs. intercounty migration shows that in most cases highly educated blacks are more likely to make undertake the longer distance relocation, given migration status. (The exceptions occur in 1970 and 1980 for the youngest age group in both the Nonsouth and South, and in the 35-54 age group in the south in 1940.)

Concern for the existence of changes over time in mobility differentials by race provided a central motivation for this analysis. In addition to the basic differentials which we have reported, our approach allows us to address this issue directly. The goodness of fit results indicate that racial differentials in mobility do differ by decade, but that their contribution the the overall fit of the model is modest.

It is the migrate vs. local move category that shows the most consistent pattern of racial differentials, and it is in this category that the most distinctive time trend in these differentials appears. For those with 0-8 and 9-12 years of education, groups in which blacks lagged behind whites in migration for almost every age and time period, we find that the deficit has decreased in almost every case. The pattern appears in both regions of origin, although it is stronger in the Nonsouth. In the 13+ educational category, where black migration

[7]There is also a way in which race interacts with region: The higher concentration of blacks in the South combined with the lower interstate vs. intercounty odds for those who originate in the South would serve to make blacks less mobile had region not been controlled.

rates exceeded whites in the two most recent decades, differences shrink during that 10 year interval for the three youngest age groups. The interstate vs. intercounty category exhibits little generalizable trend; there is selective divergence between 1970 and 1980 for those with high school education or less originating in the Nonsouth. In the higher educational attainment category we found that the odds of interstate migration for blacks generally exceeded those for whites. Here we find a generally smaller difference in 1980 compared to 1940 (in the North and West), but little apparent time trend. Among those with 9-12 years of education and in the youngest two ages — a key group — the deficit in the odds of migration increases between 1970 and 1980, but does not reach the magnitude of 1940. [8]

5. CONCLUSIONS

Our loglinear analysis has attempted to compare the influence of age, education, region of residence at the beginning of the migration interval, and race on population mobility. Our approach has been to treat the mobility event in a simultaneous framework, looking at both short and long distance movement. By employing census microdata samples we have been able to model secular trends in the propensity to move, and changes in the effects of characteristics over time. Of primary concern has been the existence, magnitude, and time trend of racial differentials in these mobility outcomes.

[8]We also returned to our data which included 1960 information, and examined the change in the difference of the migration vs. move log-odds between 1960 and 1980. This period is of particular interest, because it is seen as one of great strides in civil rights and integration of black Americans into the mainstream. Nine of eleven comparisons (1980 vs. 1960) we could make revealed greater similarity by 1980.

Our results indicate that the magnitude of racial differences in mobility is small compared to the influence of age and education. Very substantial temporal (census decade) effects are present in our data. These are present in the propensity to make any kind of move, and somewhat in the distribution of types of mobility given that an individual moves. Region of origin also contributes modestly to explaining the pattern of mobility outcomes observed in these data. Although our sample size enables us to find statistically significant effects for all terms we fit, we do find that complex higher order interactions between the covariates explain very little once basic effects have been controlled.

Racial differences in mobility do appear in these data, and they do vary by the demographic characteristics of individuals. Among those with high school education or less, blacks are almost uniformly less migratory than whites, across age, time, and region of origin groupings. among those with at least some college education, we find that blacks are usually more migratory than whites in 1970 and 1980, while less migratory in 1940 and 1950. A similar, yet weaker, pattern holds for racial differences in interstate migration, given a migratory outcome. Few systematic racial differences can be detected in the overall propensity to move.

We find evidence that the disparity between blacks and whites in mobility patterns has declined. The deficit in migratory behavior that we described above (0-12 years of education) has shrunk across most groups between 1940 and 1980, and for those with more education, the last two decades have seen a growing similarity in migratory probabilities. To return to our original issue, the, our results point

first to demographic differentials in accounting for the simple racial differentials observed in mobility and migration. Where racial differentials exist, they have generally lessened, indicating a growing similarity over time the structure of migration behavior among blacks and whites.

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SYSTEMATIC ALIEN VERIFICATION FOR ENTITLEMENTS (SAVE)

1. Political Tradeoffs/Calculus

*SAVE was an existing INS program which had been piloted in several states, including Richard Lamm's state of Colorado. INS, noticed that when illegals were apprehended they had evidence that showed they were getting some kind of benefits. Protectionist? groups touted the usefullness of SAVE by citing findings in the pilot projects and estimating cost-savings figures.

*Public interest groups, while agreeing in principle with the use of SAVE as a fraud prevention device, found the cost savings figures to be inflated, were concerned about the quality of data in INS' files and worried that SAVE might be used as a sort-of alien identification system; perhaps in-lieu of a national identification card.

*The resulting legislation mandated the use of SAVE in public assistance agencies, but set out a very cautious path in doing so. As part of IRCA, Federal public assistance agencies were required to report on the effectiveness of SAVE. If states had a system which was equally effective verification system was in place, then the use of SAVE could be waived by the appropriate Federal agency.

*Because of concerns about the quality of the database and to relieve any hardship caused by processing delays resulting from the use of ASVI data base, Congress inserted the "presumptive eligibility" requirement which did not allow agencies to "delay, deny, reduce or terminate the individual's eligibility for benefits on the basis of INS information.

*Because SAVE was designed to save money in Federal programs, and because it was seen by proponents as a money saving device that would very quickly pay for itself, thereby saving Federal dollars, the program offered 100% Federal reimbursement to states for the costs of implementing and using SAVE.

2. Definition of the Problem

*The Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) published a booklet citing reports on the use of public assistance by illegals, implying that current verification procedures were inadequate and this was costing us billions of dollars.

*The idea of attracting illegals/the magnet idea of public assitance was presented by stating that it may be easier if conditions are better than they are in the home country and they might go home instead if we don't stop providing them with benefits.

3. Major Policy Actors' Beliefs about Expected Effects

*Although never tested, INS strongly believes that computer verification of documents will act to deter illegals from applying for benefits, and that the welfare assistance rolls will diminish; both states and the federal government will save lots of bucks.

*Although never intended as part of IRCA, there is the possibility that IRCA could be used as a criminal enforcement tool in much the same way as other DOJ files.

4. Assumptions About Policy Targets and Their Likely Responses

*The use of SAVE in state welfare agencies would in effect, "demagnetize" the attraction of the U.S. for illegals, thereby reducing the attractiveness of the U.S. for illegals, would not come to the U.S. thinking that they could be taken care of.

*Once states begin to see the results of pilot tests, and are shown that the 100% federal funding can be shown for federal funding then states will be more likely to pick up and use the system.

*Federal agencies, from whose coffers these monies will come, were concerned that, without Federal oversight there might be misuse of the monies, and states might use these monies to automate (what is the connection here to Federal action)

5. Assumptions About Implementors and Implementation Process

*According to INS, use of the ASVI database will not in any way violate the privacy of individuals since it is simply a verification of the authenticity of documents which are right in front of them, and as such will contravene state laws. The ASVI data base has been pulled from the more sensitive DOJ files, and there is nothing in the files which is not on the alien ID card.

*The use of SAVE is made very easy by INS' work with the contractor who has made all sorts of access to the data base easy for states through telephone, methods which point-of-sale methods, and other methods with which states are familiar.

*SAVE, in its current format is not to be used by INS for non-criminal purposes. SAVE, we have been told will be used just as is stated in its title, as a systematic verification of alien documents for purposes of determining eligibility for entitlements [as time goes by, however, this ASVI data

base or some portion of it, which preceded IRCA and will continue beyond it, will be used for other verifications including for a pilot test of employer sanctions].

6. **Assumed Costs**

*INS is the agency responsible for maintaining the ASVI data base. Through competitive bidding and by offering a substantial discount to INS for maintaing ASVI presumably to reap benefits from other uses of the the database (ASVI).

*The costs of verification for this system will be reimbursed by the Federal government. INS and especially Alan Nelson are convinced that the savings are so great from this system that there is really no problem in the Federal government reimbursing 100%, plus they are saving money in Federal programs so all the more reason for the Federal government to assume the costs.

*Although the costs of accessing and maintaining the system are cheap and reimbursable by the Federal government, public welfare agencies representing the interests of state government, claim that SAVE is more costly than anticipated by other major policy actors/promoters of SAVE. Especially in terms of the administrative burdens placed on the state welfare agencies in terms of changes necessary in the application process and in administrative procedures.

*The financial burden on lawful permanent residents of bringing in copies of their own documents, the persons who are least likely to have the bucks to maintain or pay for the reproduction of their own documents.

*There is also an unknown societal cost if illegal aliens are kicked off of public assistance, and must support themselves without any public assistance. This is in the event they do not return home.

7. **Assumed Benefits and Beneficiaries**

*SAVE was identified as a big saver of Federal dollars, as a cost-saving mechanism and, that would do the country a favor, as a program that would save Federal state and local dollars, and would save taxpayer money

*Promoters of SAVE felt that it would reduce the levels of both legal and illegal immigraton

8. **Interaction With Other Provisions**

Employer Sanctions If employer sanctions are successful in preventing employers from hiring illegals, the natural path of those illegals is then to apply for public assistance benefits. With a strong SAVE system there and in place to

catch the stream of illegals they will be cut off at the pass, and thereby reducing further the stream of immigration.

SLIAG The relationship to SLIAG is two-fold. SLIAG is the reimbursement mechanism to states for costs incurred as a result of IRCA. Since amnesty applicants are barred from federal public assistance and because SAVE may cause illegals to be kicked off public assistance, state programs may be forced to pick up the slack. SAVE could potentially be used in another connection to SLIAG; state inquiries into SLIAG could be monitored and used as another measure of location and size of the alien population to be used in determining a state's SLIAG funding.

LEGALIZATION Individuals legalizing under the various provisions of IRCA are assigned alien numbers from a special series making them uniquely identifiable to both INS and to eligibility workers in state welfare offices.

9. Ripple Effects

*The ASVI index can be used for other purposes; including state benefit programs, licenses (e.g. taxicabs), and service programs. Eventually a sub-portion of the ASVI index will be used to verify employment status in a pilot study.

*Strengthen/expanded state confidentialty laws

10. Unintended Outcomes

*State confidentiality laws may prohibit exchange of information about welfare clients between the state and Federal government, restricting INS from using SAVE for purposes other than what was intended under IRCA. These are uses which may have been intended by FAIR/INS originally.

*The Privacy protection inserted in IRCA was not sufficient to protect lawful permanent residents, the information contained in ASVI could be abused by eligibility workers, similar to other abuses of information which is available through the computer.

*The presumptive eligibility requirement, which was inserted into IRCA because of the known inadequacies of INS' data base, could be interpreted differently in different areas, and applicants may be given less time to produce the proper documents in one area/region. Program administration may be adversely affected by a need to collect on overpayments.

*The application process for benefits can becomes substantially more difficult for clients who may have already been lawfully receiving benefits but do not have the proper papers. Now they have to go out and get them.

*Aliens may be detered from applying for the certain benefit programs to which they are lawfully entitled. They may not apply because they are intimidated by the computer check, fear of the INS, or, by the failure to communicate the fact programs do exist and aliens are eligible to participate in those programs.